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NATIONALITY vs. SECTIONALISM.

AN APPEAL

TO THE

LABORING MEN OF THE SOUTH.

13-7-1869.

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Though it is believed that the conflict of arms has closed forever, the contest of principles began long since in the press and legislation, and continued on the field of battle, still remains a subject of discussion in some essential features. The settlement which has grown out of the victory of the national arms, and has been enacted into laws, aiming only at an equitable readjustment of the relations of people and State, and of the States and General Government, upon the basis of equal rights and protection to all, is still disputed by men at the South who led in the late struggle, or in the North tried to hinder the progress of the national cause in aid of armed rebellion, and who would again plunge the country into turmoil and war.

The Reconstruction laws, and the policy growing out of them, left to the Southern people the right of reorganizing their local governments, adjusting their educational system, and fostering their industrial interests, subject only to the single restriction that all the people shall share alike in their benefits, and have an equal voice in their formation. And this is the penalty, and the only penalty, imposed for the great crime of rebellion.

The contrast between this result, so desirable to all just-minded men, and the facts which relate to the condition of the section lately in rebellion, are so striking and astounding, that it is believed that in a statement of those facts will be found the best argument for the objects aimed at and the purposes sought in the Reconstruction policy of Congress, and the principles of the Republican party.

Before the rebellion begun, fifteen slave States, having an area greater by two hundred thousand square miles than the former free States, were controlled in all their public policy, in all their interests, by a slave-holding class, numbering in 1860 less than 350,000 persons. Hereafter they are to be controlled by the millions by whom they are, and shall be, inhabited. It is to those millions, whose interests are most deeply affected, and who in the past have been used only for the building up of a small class, that the following comparisons of the two systems and examination of the motives which have controlled the actions of the advocates of each, is submitted.

HOW A SECTIONAL POLICY PREVENTED PROGRESS.

To arrest the mental, moral, or spiritual development of an individual is a crime, if not before man, before God. To steal a child from the surroundings in which it would be morally certain to grow up possessed of education, refinement, and moral worth, and place it in circumstances where it must be either a criminal, an outcast, or a pauper, is an offence of the most henious character. If to destroy the means of mental and moral growth in a man be such an offense, how much more terrible must be the nature of any social system which not only hinders but perverts entirely the character of a whole community, giving to millions a collective life of a much lower and more degraded type than that which others in not more favored circumstances have reached. If in our land there be found sections where the mental and moral surroundings are of a widely different character, without any too great diversity in the physical circumstances, we must look to their political and social institutions and influences for an explanation of these diversities. If we find one section steadily improving in all that goes to make up civilization, and another almost as stead-

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ly retrograding, or at best standing still, we may be sure that causes exist which can be removed. Especially will this be true if the section which halts or retrogrades is found to be blest with more than abundant sources of material wealth, and a high order of industrial development.

This is exactly what has resulted in the United States. There are two sections—not properly so distinguished by any physical differences, and without such barriers as mark natural boundaries—but still diverse in their public life, differing widely in the character of the communities which inhabit them. These differences are in no sense organic, and can all be obliterated by an acceptance of the fundamental principles of national growth and life whose wonderful results in the more prosperous section, attest so fully their correctness, vitality, and energizing capacity. Let us, then, examine the records for proof of our assertions.

The first thing which meets us in the discussion is the fact that we have to go back to illustrations so long familiar to one portion as to be with its people almost proverbial. The nearly hermetical sealing of all avenues of information by which comparisons could be entered into with a system different from that which prevailed in the Southern States, renders it essential to lay before you the facts which it was the interest of the small minority, which so long ruled in your midst, to entirely misrepresent or entirely exclude. Has the fact been presented to you that the Southern States, with an area originally much greater than the Northern, with a population nearly as large, and with greater sources of national wealth have, after eighty years, seen the poorer section grow so rapidly as to nearly double in wealth and population the originally richer one? It has not. There must be reasons for this. And those reasons are easily found. They are in the character of the different ideas which governed the two sections, and one of which, though overthrown, is still, with open-mouthed passion, declaring its right to supremacy, while the other, not so demonstrative, perhaps, is yet irresistibly pushing its way to entire and absolute control of the nation's destinies. The one system degrades—the other elevates. The one uplifts the masses—the other oppresses. Let us turn to records which will irrefragably establish this—we mean the national census. That gives us in results of most startling directness the proofs of our assertion that southern class rule—*the control by three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders of over eight millions of whites and nearly four millions of blacks*—produced nothing but degradation to the many, while in no ennobling sense did it elevate the few—is in every sense just and truthful.

Let us see, then, what it offers in illustration of the argument. The census published in 1860 is our guide. The examples selected are from products and industries in which, under a system of forecast and energy such as a thoroughly free society brings, the South would have been eminently successful.

THE COTTON INTEREST.

Take the manufacture of cotton goods as an illustration. The South commanded the markets of the world by her production of the raw staple. Her planting interest grew fat and insolent through this result, and with insane pride conceived that the centuries might be set back, and a Christian civilization made to sustain the imperious insolence of a slave-breeding empire. There was no reasonable excuse for allowing another section to obtain a manufacturing monopoly of this staple, except that which arose from the depressing influences of an industrial system, which set at defiance all laws of political economy. Slavery had no room for intelligent industry, and was, therefore, given over to communities not charmed by the growth of education, and refusing to welcome any new form of progress. The ideas advocated by the Republican party have thrown down such barriers, and in their certain march will create manufactures, build factories, and rear a race of skilled and intelligent artizans, the product of whose labor will bring not only material comfort, but in the social and mental wants that create, plant a high civilization, uplift the now depressed Southern masses, and supply their demands for education. The triumph of the national policy over the still defiant sectionalism of the past will be insured when the skill of New England possesses the South, and the intelligence of her people shall be equalled by those who are not now to be placed in comparison. A simple and rude form of civilization is the certain result to a people wholly devoted to the culture of a few leading staples, such as the cotton, sugar, and rice of the Southern section. A complex civilization, with many wants, growing constantly with the demand, is the result of a society where industry is diversified, labor subject to economical division, and a high degree of material comfort is realized for all.

But, to return to the manufacture of cotton goods. The total value was, in 1850, $65,501,687; in 1860, $105,137,926. Of this the New England States alone are credited with $43,785,990 in 1850; with $80,301,535 in 1860, an increase of $36,515,545. New York, Pennsylvania, and New

Jersey produced, in 1850, cotton goods to the value of $12,121,097; in 1860, $22,481,731, an increase of over ten millions. The fifteen slave States and the District of Columbia manufactured cotton goods to the value, in 1850, of $8,913,736; in 1860, of $11,310,173, an increase of but little more than two and a half millions of dollars.

In this manufacture alone the free States paid for labor, during 1860, $21,149,786, while the slave section paid only $2,310,292, a difference of $18,839,494 in favor of such skill, enterprize and industry as free labor promotes. The same striking contrasts run through all the census reports. Yet the South is far more than equal to the North in all facilities for this or any other manufacture.

It is within the power of the Southern millions to transplant all of wealth, culture, and power free labor has brought to New England, and even to give them a grander and richer future. Shall this be done? Its accomplishment lies within the purpose of the National Republican party.

THE MANUFACTURE OF MACHINERY.

All the machinery manufactured during the year 1860 in the slave section, was valued at but $7,750,050, while in the remainder of the States and Territories it was valued at $39,351,500. New England manufactured machinery valued at over two million dollars more than that of the entire South. So also with New York and Pennsylvania, each State manufacturing as much as all the slave States. Kansas, which in 1853 had no white inhabitants, in 1860 manufactured machinery to the value of $40,000. North Carolina, one of the original thirteen States, having immense commercial advantages, with a fertile soil and boundless mineral wealth lying unworked in her mountains, manufactured machinery to the value only of $92,750. Arkansas, a State for over thirty years, teeming with natural riches—a soil as fertile as a dream, navigable rivers, abundance of timber and rich with unbounded mineral resources, manufactured machinery to the value only of $21,750. The lowest amount of machinery manufactured in 1860 in any one of the free States, (Kansas was a Territory then,) was in far off Oregon, which foots up $71,000, more than three times as much as Arkansas, twice as much as Florida, and one-third more than Texas.

WAGES PAID AND VALUE OF PRODUCTS.

To sum up and present the contrast in its most suggestive light, the census of 1860 gives an approximate estimate of the value of all products of industry and of the wages paid for labor performed. By that estimate the former slave section employed, during that year, 163,028 males, and 35,477 females. The then free States and Territories employed 936,972 males, and 249,523 females. The New England States alone employed and paid wages to 204,185 more persons than were employed and paid in the entire South.

The total amount paid as wages was, in 1860, within the free States, $1,316,812,000, while the slave States disbursed but $283,188,000. This was a surplus in favor of free labor of about five and a half times as great as that paid in the South. The New England States alone paid for wages $210,887,498, or only seventy millions less than was paid in the fifteen former slave States. The white population of these States was about eight millions, while that of the free States was about twenty millions, or only two and a half times larger.

By a table compiled in 1856 for the United States Treasury, it appears that the average of wages paid *per capita* in the then free and slave States was as follows: Massachusetts, $166 60; Rhode Island, $164 61; Connecticut, $156 65; California, $149 66; New Jersey, $120 82; New Hampshire, $117 17; New York, $112 00; Indiana, $99 12; Vermont, $96 62; Pennsylvania, $90 30; Illinois, $86 94; Ohio, $75 83; Michigan, $72 84; Maine, $71 11; Wisconsin, $68 41; Iowa, $65 47.

In the then slave States and the Federal District: Missouri, $88 06; Maryland, $83 85; Kentucky, $71 82; Mississippi, $67 50; Louisiana, $65 30; Tennessee, $63 10; Georgia, $61 45; South Carolina, $56 91; Alabama, $55 72; Florida, $54 77; Arkansas, $52 04; District of Columbia, $52 00; Texas, $51 13; North Carolina, $49 38; Delaware, $35 27.

In the case of Missouri, first on the list, the rate of wages was largely controlled by the influence of free labor then so rapidly growing in that State, and especially in St. Louis.

THE CONDITION AND VALUE OF THE LAND A TEST.

There are other and even more striking tests by which to measure the relative condition of the different States. Take, for instance, the area under cultivation in each section. In 1860 the amount of unimproved arable land within the slave States was 162,233,121 acres. In nineteen free States there was 71,871,951 acres not under cultivation. This shows a difference in favor of the latter of 87,461,170 acres. At least one half of these unimproved lands were situated in the Western States, not long opened for settlement. During the ten years preceding

strictly agricultural region, only one-tenth of which is improved."

By the act of March 21, 1866, the 51,398,544 acres of public lands enumerated above were placed under the operation of the Homestead law, the divisions being restricted to eighty (80) acres each, thus providing homes to nearly 650,000 families, which, at the usual average of five persons to each family, would support 3,250,000 persons. Besides this beneficial act, measures are now pending, proposed by Republicans, which will restore to settlement by the people about eight million acres of the best land in the States of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, originally given to railroad corporations and forfeited by them in consequence of non-completion of their roads within the time allowed by Congress. These lands are to be taken from rebel speculators, and applied to the benefit of the laboring men of the South.

What slavery did for the South; how it sapped its prosperity and drained its vitality, these pages have in a small degree shown; what the policy of Freedom as represented by the Republican party can do there has yet to be shown. What that policy has done for the North is exhibited in the striking contrasts herein presented.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—ITS POLICY.

The Republican party favors internal improvement: encourages emigration; gives the public lands to the industrious settler; builds the Pacific railroad; comes to the South and provides, both by national appropriations and individual contributions, for the encouragement of education, the feeding of the famine-stricken, and the protection of the poor.

But the chief charge against the National Republican party is that it has enfranchised the colored man; that it is the special friend of the negro. The only reply needed to that is found in the words of one of its earnest friends: "*Being the party of all men, it is the party of the black man.*" It seeks to protect the white as well as the black man. The rights it accords to the latter strengthens those of the former. Justice always pays. Equity is a good investment. The Government that accords equal protection to its humblest citizen insures thereby that its highest and most influential shall be made more secure in all that they hold valuable. To do this is the aim of the National Republican party. Inequality and injustice is the basis of sectionalism.

Look for a moment at the diverse condition of those portions of the country over which these two policies have held sway. In the one is activity, in the other, stagnation. In the one the masses are keenly alive to every new policy or enterprise. Nothing which affects the remotest corner of the Republic is without its interest to them. In the other there is great indifference to what concerns any one beyond the narrow limits of town, county, or State. Capital is eagerly welcomed in the one State; no questions are asked as to its opinions; and active public sentiment prevents undue encroachment on its part upon the rights of community; while it is true now as it was in the past that, in any State where the sectional policy has ruled and still rules, the stranger capitalist is regarded with suspicion unless he feigns subserviency to the class rule that prevails, while the political opinions of the laborer even are made a test. If he agrees with those that prevail, he has a meagre welcome; if he does not, he can remain only under great disadvantages. On the other hand ideas are welcomed: free speech is protected, and all things are, under the healthy influence of a prevailing national sentiment, subject to the test of reasonable discussion. But is this true of States where sectionalism prevails? The bludgeon and the bullet have too often been the answer to distasteful argument, and the time has been that only in the presence of the Federal bayonet men could find safety in the advocacy of principles which, as we have shown, are for the benefit of all classes.

It is to the interest, as they conceive, of the old Southern leaders, to keep alive the sectional policy under which they so long ruled. It is to your interest, as these pages have shown, to identify yourselves in the future with the spirit and party of Nationality, Liberty, and Progress, and leave "the dead past to bury its dead." The opportunity now offers.

The Reconstruction policy of Congress has become a finality in seven of the States over which it was extended, and will soon be in all. State governments are in full operation. They will be maintained by all the power of the General Government against violence from the interior or exterior. By the security they will offer and peace they will establish, business will revive, labor again find profitable employment, productiveness be increased a thousand fold, capital with its hundred legs will travel into every corner of the South, and the highest prosperity of the slave system shall be but rags and patches along side of the constant growth in wealth, education, liberty, and all that befits a free community, which will surely follow the permanent success of the wise Reconstruction policy of Congress.

The aim of the Republican party is best expressed in the words of the wise citizen and sagacious soldier, whose name is now

presented to you as its candidate for President, GENERAL U. S. GRANT, when in his letter accepting the Chicago nomination he closed by saying, "LET US HAVE PEACE." The triumph of the Republican party in the election of November 3, 1868, will insure peace, permanent, just, and profitable to both North and South alike. The Democratic party offer only war. This is its whole policy. To tear down and overturn accomplished facts is the only aim it presents. Its candidate for Vice President, Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, in a letter announcing his views, their demands, that in the event of the election of the Democratic candidates, a new rebellion shall be inaugurated. Under date of June 30, Gen. Blair says:

> If the President elected by the Democracy enforces or permits others to enforce these reconstruction acts, the Radicals by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and fifty Representatives, will control both branches of Congress, and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Andrew Johnson.
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> "There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and *that is for the President elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations, disperse the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives.* The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the co-operation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution."
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> "I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us: Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the Government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith, and the public credit."
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> "We must restore the Constitution before we can the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people *by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress, known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results.* It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.
>
> Your friend,
>
> FRANK P. BLAIR.

The real issue is before you, laboring men of the South, with the success of the Republican party sectional struggle will be settled, and peace and prosperity dawn on the land. With the triumph of the Democratic candidates, Seymour and Blair, sectionalism will be revived, civil war again be opened, and your blood will be demanded in sacrifice for the interests of a sectional policy whose chief aim has so far been but to degrade you, and whose only result can be a continuance of the same. Your duty is plain, the principles involved are simple. On the one side the old class leaders and politicians seeking only to maintain their control, appeal but to passions and hatred. "The Lost Cause" is paraded before you at every turn, but you are not told that the cause thus lost in blood was not your cause, but their's. You are not told it was the cause of the few against many. You are admonished of the past pride and glory of the South.—What share of the glory was yours? Why should its memories be a source of pride to you? The answer is easily given. The future of the South, as you may make it, will indeed be glorious. The courage exhibited by you in the field is sufficient proof of that. "The Lost Cause;" the re-establishment of the narrow policy of State sovereignty, and the maintenance of class distinctions and legal inequalities, are all that sectional policy offers.

On the other hand, what is it the National Union Republican party offers? Its principles are announced in the platforms of its National and State Conventions, and they are guaranteed by the lofty character of the Presidential candidates it places before the people. GENERAL U. S. GRANT is a soldier of the highest ability. Always faithful to his trust, he has never been ought but magnanimous to his enemy. Men of the South, who fought against him unto the "bitter end," well know how brave in the field, how sagacious in council, and wise and merciful when defeat came, our candidate. ULYSSES S. GRANT, ever proved himself to be. The HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX, Republican nominee for Vice President, is now Speaker of the House of Representatives, and is recognized by all parties, friend and foe, as a statesman of wide experience, ripe judgment, and fine intellect. In private life of irreproachable character, his public career has been wholly unstained.

The platform upon which these candidates stand declares fully the object of the National Republican party. Let us see what they propose:

Equality of all men before the law—the protection of the humblest citizen in the same rights as those which belong to the highest. This does not mean white man or black man. It means all men. It does not mean social but political equality. The former regulates itself by the wishes of each individual, and not by the laws.

The perpetual maintenance of the union of these States; the payment of the debt incurred in its defense, and of the obligations which the nation owes to its defenders. A system of equal taxation in the States, so that no longer shall commerce and labor pay two-thirds of the burdens of government. Slavery necessitated large landed estates, as you who have been driven from the lowlands to the more sterile mountain sides know to your cost. Slavery controlled the legislation of the States, and relieved itself of

the burden by unequal taxation of other industries.

An equal system of common schools, within which all children in the State may receive the advantages of education. To maintain these schools, the Republican party will tax the property of all equally. With equal taxation and a common school system, how long will the great estates of the South be maintained? You who are in great part denied even the poor privilege of buying lands, can comprehend the advantages at once of a policy which will make it to the interest of the landholder to subdivide the soil. The land owners have a strong motive in again seeking your support to maintain their power, because they know that by retaining the land of a State they will surely obtain and maintain political control thereof. It is your interest to join the party which offers you through a policy of justice not only the education of your children, but the opportunity of obtaining homes by legal means.

The Republican party in every State favors internal improvements; it protects and encourages emigration; it will aid the development of the great resources, mineral, agricultural, and commercial, of the Southern States. The homestead of the poor man will be secured. Capital will be encouraged by the peace its success is sure to bring.

The issues are before you. The result is in your hands. Wise men do not stand mourning over what cannot be recovered, but calmly and soberly looking the facts in the face, endeavor to gain all that is possible and work for better things. The Republican party is not the party of proscription. It believes in its principles. All history vindicates them, and civilization rises as they are recognized. The spirit in which the Republican party works; the temper in which it appeals to you, fellow-citizens of the South, and the purposes it aims to achieve, are most wisely and solemnly announced in the closing words of the second inaugural address of the martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. Himself a man of the people, born in the South and from among those we are addressing, there can be no more fitting appeal presented for a permanent peace based on justice. No nobler vindication of the nation and party he represented than these sentiments, uttered as they were within the shadow of the Valley of Death. We commend to you these remarkable words:

"Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offence come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of the offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty year's of unrequitted toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE, WITH CHARITY FOR ALL, WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT, AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT, LET US STRIVE ON TO FINISH THE WORK WE ARE IN; TO BIND UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS; TO CARE FOR HIM WHO SHALL HAVE BORNE THE BATTLE, AND FOR HIS WIDOW AND HIS ORPHAN; TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHERISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS."

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